/92 cont./

175 631 648 incarcerate any montagnard of the Seksawa who was seized at the markets. Then his activities became wider and he prospered for a long time in the entourage of the monarch, as an adventurer specialized in mountain affairs. This enviable situation continued until the death of the Sultan. But the Haut Seksawa had never accepted a Caid.

As a counterpart to this exciting adventure, which illustrates the incompatibility between the caidal power and the village institution, one can cite, in Bas /Lower/ Seksawa, happier, yet only far-apart attempts. Here the atmosphere is completely different. The fqih-s of the ait Abdella are called ᶜadûl. A dahir /decree/ [693] even named a cadi, si ᶜAbd ar-Rah'mân b. ᶜAbd Allah ar-Ragrâgî (1113 Heg.: 1702). Yet he is a local religious personage, and, on the other hand, his investiture curiously alludes to, beyond the Seksawa, the Imedlawen, who are very far away, on the other side of the Tichka, and "al-Qîhra," a topographically strange mention. All happens as if the extension of the jurisdiction was ransom for little work. Occasionally, caids are designated. Thus one knows of a caid T'âhar, of Agawz, of still others. It is true that these designations are a simple fiscal formality.

175 648 651 In 1292 Heg.: 1884, a dahir conceded to the Seksawa a limitation on the "old usage" of prestations demandable by the central power. That is to say, 1215 mithqâl-s (for the rial of 19 ounces) in hedya /gift to the sultan on feast days/ for the feasts; 50 sheep to the Aid Keber; 200 chickens, and eggs, plus a quintal of dry fruit for the ᶜachûra; in addition, participation in the royal corvées, for work on the séguias, for the harkas. An imperative prescription is made for the ᶜummâl to hold fast there; but it is still far from this minimum to the reality. Here we are always in an atmosphere very different from that of the high mountains. A simple chancellery convention itself, the plains regime gained little or much, marginally the a. Abdella: to which many other influences contributed.

/277 cont./
175 794 675 [176] [126]
the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

796 Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a [782] group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or 796 tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in 675 the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

794 Several saints possess an estate, ras l-mâl, maintained from [176] year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at [423] auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this [432] kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never [452] demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus [693] forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

/303 cont./

776 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Âmer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Âbderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

792 /315 cont./
keeps its name: si Muh'ammad Uzinit', such is the name under which the I^{c}lâm registers him (1).

1. ^{c}Abbâs b. Ibrâhîm, al-'I^{c}lâm bi-man h'alla Marrâkuch, t. V, 1939, p. 307.

And in the same region, if we go a little beyond the cadre of the Seksawa, the case is not isolated. The barbarous a. Mh'and u Musa have indeed maintained a "cadi" Ulwâh', famous doctor, [181] [693] a great one in jurisprudence (2).

2. Al-h'afîz' al-Fâsî, Riyâd' al-Jinna, t. I, 1932, p. 58.

Let us pass on from phenomena of this nature, naturally more abundant in the Dir, and these moraines of zaouias and médersas that border the mountains. It is rather, in spite of the difficulty that the distance of these figures in time creates, on the side of the great jurists and great saints of the South, all coming from the most personal, the most confined corners of the Atlas, a Suktânî, a ^{c}Abbâsî, a Nâçirî, a Tamanârtî, tens of Samlâlî, and still so many others, that it would be necessary to orient the analysis. Such an investigation of "literary history," as Renan would have said, would indeed be of interest. It could cast useful light on the cultural history of the Moroccan South, so poorly known up to now. But it is better to give it up out of qualms for precision, or rather localization.

212 794 More directly observable, if not more decipherable, is the t't'aleb of yesterday, today, and always. We shall again see his silhouette appear when studying the juridical structures of the milieu: there, too, his role is important. For the moment we shall interest ourselves only in his spiritual role. He has, of course, a wholly /316/ orthodox side: the periodical recitation of the Book and the "attachment," mulâzama, to the communal sanctuary. But his heterodox aspect is even greater. The psalmody of the great texts, the handling of the dangerous thing

623 /324 cont./
634 the intervention of the collectivity appears to have a jurisdic-
619 tional or notarial value. This testimony is important. It is not
692 at all isolated.

In the old Seksawa titles one often finds mention of the jemâa not only as Senate, or as guardian of public order, but in
•[693] judiciary or arbitral attributions. A writing of 1042 Heg.: 1630, in a. H'adduyws, mentions it sitting simultaneously with a "cadi." More recently, in 1315 Heg.: 1897, a long piece relates the meeting of the entire jemâa of the Idma, with its two moqaddem-s, in order to resolve a serious matter, which, taking account of the reticences of the text, appears to have been the rape of a notable's daughter.

The jemâa, moreover, is always present, like the chorus of old tragedy. But it is also often the protagonist of the piece,
[792] either if it exercises its function openly, or if it acts only indi-
[794] rectly, through personages who tend to differ with it or even compete with it: profane chiefs like the moqaddem or the amghar, men of piety, of study, or of benediction, like the t't'aleb, the fqih, the agurram.

692 There is one point, however, where a division of labor seems
693 always to operate. This is in the landed-property and successoral procedure. The distinctive trait in this is the dualism. The affairs, first presented to the chief or to the jemâa, are referred to a personage who has been agreed upon by the two parties. In this instance, it was most often the marabout of the zaouias of Assttif or of sidi Ah'med u Âli or of Bu^{c}anfur, far in the plain. Sometimes, too, it was a specialist called "cadi" (1).

1. On these personages in the Atlas and the Sous, cf. J. Berque, "Un glossaire notarial arabo-chleuh de Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle) /An Arabo-Shluh notarial glossary from the Deren (eighteenth century)/," R. afr., 1950, pp. 388 sq., with references to jurists of the South.

/324 cont./

693 692 The existence of this latter is /325/ intermittent. It appears most often as linked to the progress of personal power and naturally also to the nearness of the towns. He is supported, but also imposed and oriented by the chief. Nevertheless, he always judges "by mutual accord," s-tarad'i, and his intervention is challengeable, like that of any other arbiter. But is it indeed a matter of an arbiter? Some old documents will permit analyzing the institution better.

175 634 69 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ There is first an act of 923 Heg.: 1518, of the a. H'adduyws, recording a verdict rendered in a landed-property case, and which gives to one of the parties the ownership of parcels seized as counterpart of the expenses of mortuary services. And this in a great meeting of Seksawa and Idaw i-yzimmer. The h'ŝkim bases his authority upon the mutual and written appeal of the two adversaries to his court, called court of the charᶜ /Sharia/, "of the law": baᶜda rid'ŝ'i-him bi-majlisi'ch-charᶜi laday-nŝ bi-rasmi't-tarŝd'ī.

Another act of 1109 Heg.: 1698, of the I. Geryun, in very bad Arabic, relates a complete procedure. The moqaddem and [794] the jemŝa place the case of two parties before a fqih designated by lot, baᶜda d'arabat la-hum al-qurᶜa, "so that he may strike them with the sword of the law." It is a matter of a habous [681] /wakf/ lawsuit. The two litigants promise, in case of nonappearance, to pay into the hands of the moqaddem three mithqŝl-s in penalty. Initial citation and appearance in court, designation of a judge, referral, fine in the event of nonappearance: all the moments of the first part of the procedure are brought to light here.

175 69 Again a tarŝd'ī consignation dated from 1122 Heg.: 1710, and coming from two personages from Alus, who solemnly empower a "cadi" of the a. Tikssit to act for them in making a settlement. "They are in agreement (to place) the charīᶜa of God in the hands of the fqih such and such ... for all that has become clouded between them in the case of land, trees, houses,

/325 cont./
175 grindstones, manâhil (transhumance shelters), inanimate goods,
69 dry crops, and all other claims of the one upon the other."

We have an example of what these verdicts may be, when the magistrate makes a point of culture, in a long writing of 1118 Heg.: 1707, where a scholar originally from the a. Ish'âq develops, in good writing with comparisons and quotations, his point of view on a habous /wakf/ lawsuit. It is a matter of a patrimony disputed among branches of devolutionaries, some of whom have died out, munqarid'în, a type of case that war and epidemics must have made frequent. The learned man acts on the authority of an indirect quotation from ar-Rasmûkî, then of a Meccan precedent, of the Fès /Fez/ jurist az-Zaqqâq, still others... Such an argument, he says, is null, nonexistent, ujûdu-hu ka'l-^{c}adam. It is like a mirage that the imagination believes to be of water, whereas if one reaches it, one no longer finds anything.

• 693 One appreciates this paradox of atmosphere, if one may venture to say it, which inspires in the humble montagnard jurist the poetry of the camel driver. The respect given by apparently barbarous cantons to the /326/ scholar, zaouia sheik or "cadi" is significant (1).

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1. Can we go further than these observations? Does the antiquity of this procedural dualism permit evoking, across the gulf of time and distance, the division of the Roman procedure into two phases? We are far from the idea of finding again in the Atlas something that would recall the profound originality of the formula. But perhaps in the referrals to episcopal arbitration, frequent after Constantine, we can find something exciting for the imagination, if not serious for comparison. The first hypothesis has already been set forth by G. Surdon,

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/326 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ Esquisses de droit coutumier berbère marocain /Outlines of Moroccan Berber customary law/. 1928, p. 185, n. 1. One finds in this work very exact, but incomplete and scattered notations. For example, on the alwāḥ', pp. 12, 142, 179, 181; on the instinct for patrimonial preservation among the Imazighen, pp. 35 sq.; on the true character of the rahn, pp. 196 sq.; the asghurt, p. 128. We are obliged to point out these coincidences with our own observations.

69 And it is no less so that such a judge, often far from the place of litigation, cut off from any possibility of investigation, and chosen even because of that no doubt, does not base his decision on objective data at all, indeed sometimes not even on hearing the two parties. The decision is often presented in fact in the form of a letter delivered to one of the litigants, and undoubtedly solely on the evidence of his statement. One might be surprised by the fact that a rural society entrusts its most precious interests to such a whimsical magistery. But, on the one hand, [627] the great majority of the conflicts are under the jurisdiction of prelaw and hence never come to procedural argument. And, on the other hand, the latter brings into play the not negligible factors of auctoritas. First, the weight of the person, of the writing, and of the reference to the Law. Then, the recourse to an external culture and ethic, felt as such, but to which one adheres at the appointed time and place, no more, and which one has intervene when it is necessary and when one wishes. In the second phase of this procedural splitting is read one of the attitudes of Chleuh /Shluh/ comportment with respect to Arabism and external civilization in general. We shall not engage here in a discussion of social psychology, which could lead far.

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692 The appeal to an eminent sapience (2),

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114 2. In the thirteenth century, al-[c]Abdarī shows the people of the Sous literally seizing passing scholars, Cherbonneau tr., Journal asiatique, IV, 1854, p. 151, and B. Nat. ms 2283, fol. 5, l. 5 de fine sq. Notations of the same order in Léon, on the side of the present Imintanout, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Ch. Schefer, 1898, t. 1, p. 219 (in "Semada," with arbitration described in full), and citation in L. Massignon, Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI[e] siècle /Morocco in the first years of the sixteenth century/, 1906, §106, p. 127. It is necessary, however, to set against this aspect (exteriority of the judge) what Léon tells us about the veritable "parliament" that functions in ait Daud in a seemingly indicated professional climate (ibid., Schefer, p. 153).

Examples of dualist procedure in a. Wawzgit (De la Porte des Vaux, "The a. W. de la vallée du Zagmouzen," in CHEAM, p. 111), the Anti-Atlas (Huot, "L'organisation de la justice dans les tribus de l'Anti-Atlas," in CHEAM, p. 15).

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692 the talismanic action of Arabic writing are certainly what characterize this instance the most, rather than the arbitral aspect suggested by its terminology. /327/ There are no conciliators here, but magistrates, and better yet liberators of forces. Forces that the milieu considers transcendent and which it carefully keeps at a distance.

/335 cont./

695 175 penetrate the Sous? One points out a Kitâb ummahât al-wâthâ'iq from Daud at-Tamulîî or at-Timlî, m. in 841 Heg.: 1438. This date indeed appears to furnish the terminus a quo, and one will observe that it precedes by some fifty years the procedural shift that our two Seksawa acts reveal. This delay of transmission between the doctrine of a scholar from the Sous, probably the initiator or the popularizer, and the notarial practice of this remote canton is quite likely.

Notarial Role of the t't'aleb

212 794 693 As for the role of the "just," ᶜadl, whom a pan-Islamic evolution has made a salaried professional, it is instructive to compare it /336/ to the one that the instrumentary t't'aleb plays in the western Haut-Atlas. Because there, too, there has been specialization, although in a completely different sense.

Certain tribes, among them the Seksawa and the tribes of the circum-Tichka in general, reserve the notarial capacity to only t't'olba attached, mulâzim, to the village mosques. Accordingly, they are endowed with the force that emanates from a collective unanimity materialized by such communitarian practices: meal of investiture, assessed compensation, etc. The wandering scholar and mendicant that this milieu likewise knows is thus kept from the notarial function, sometimes even in spite of the prestige of the person. A recent decision of the Tribunal coutumier denied any conclusive force to the paraph of an important marabout on the grounds that he was not a village imam, drawing up deeds in this village.

Near the end of the thirteenth century, a traveler depicted the inhabitants of the Sous seizing passing scholars in order to confer upon them the functions of village imam. Four centuries later, the Ajwiba of an-Nâçirî devote long passages to this institution. The adjustment that they point out between the compensation of this fqih and the order of turns for water reveals an ancient and profound correlation between the system and the very foundations of this society. It is of little importance that the personage

/336 cont./

212 is uncultivated, keeps his head bare, wears only one shirt, lets his
794 wives devote themselves to tasks more or less decent; the Malé-
693 kite /Maliki/ utilitarianism tolerates him all the same, because, without him, the village would no longer pray and would no longer enter into contracts.

These different traits will complete the encompassing of two essential motifs of the Seksawa, indeed Chleuh /Shluh/ in a larger sense, procedure: the writing and the oath, with their municipal atmosphere. At the same stroke, the beginning of historical precision, in a matter which is ordinarily so deprived of it, comes to cast some light on the relations of juridical modes, whose articulation in time one thus begins to perceive. Although narrowly limited to the field of this study, such elements merit for the ensemble of Morocco the very thing being conferred on the Moroccan South, as producer of juridical forms, an unexpected primacy.

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II. Familial Law

Agnatic Family or Conjugal Family (1)

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1. This problem is absolutely central in our investigation. Hence it can be treated only gradually in the development of the account. The notion of the agnatic group as the basis of Berbère /Berber/ society long ago passed the boundaries of the monograph. It goes back to very old observations, notably made apropos the cut-up habitat, or quarter, and such as are found, for example, in the Voyages d'Ali bey /The Travels of Ali Bey/, 1814, t. I, pp. 90, 217. Masqueray, Formation des cités chez les populations sédentaires de l'Algérie /Formation of cities among the sedentary populations of Algeria/, 1886, draws some valuable analyses from it. All

/377 cont./ compose, there is no longer any recourse against it. If they do not come to an agreement, their imâm shall have the power to increase or diminish (the rate of the composition)." The act coupled to this consultation, and which is contemporaneous, mentions the division of an inçâf between the anflus (sic) of Tinwalin and Tamt'ddit and their jemâa-s.

In fact, this penal law is matched by a fiscal organization, which sustains it. According to a principle that has not yet been entirely abandoned in modern finance, the magistrate, and more frequently the "verbalisateur" /verbalizer, one who draws up an official report/, as we would say, benefits from the fine imposed, or seizes the object of the offense. Such is also, as has been seen, the retribution of the guardians of agricultural ban or imchchurd'a, whose name, formed from the Arabic root expressing the convention with /378/ clauses, clearly marks its character. But there is a great difference between this conduct and that of the moqaddem. The collectivity imposes interdiction on such-and-such a pasturage or such-and-such an orchard. Transgression authorizes, on the part of the communal agent, immediate capture: automatic application of a "prelaw," that being mixed with elements of noxal surrender. Such is the amchchard'o, the ancestor of the gamekeeper and village policeman. Much more complex is the role of the moqaddem. If in certain cases he too seems to reward himself from the flagrante delicto or "good take," most often he collects and keeps accounts of regulatory payments, only a portion of which comes back to him. Periodically he must give an accounting. Here is a typical document on this subject. It is, let us say, the end-of-year report of a manager of communal funds. Although drawn up in inadequate form, it can be summed up in columns of figures (1).

1. Abbreviations: m, mithqâl; o, uqiyya; mu, mûzûna; uj, waĵh; f, fals. These are nominal moneys.

175 /343 cont./
*631 crushing power of the new domination (1).
712

1. Casbah of Taliwin of the Souktana.

*631 VIII. The companions of the great chief. -- For the admin-
*634 istration of the conquered tribes, the independent amghar depends
602 at the beginning on the notables and the members of the jema'a
613 of the small canton of which his father was formerly the chief. It is within these "ikhs," faithfully attached to his family from the beginning, that he chooses most especially the functionaries of the little state that he has created. He has found among them first of all the expedition leaders and the loyal mokhaznis, charged with forcibly keeping the conquered villages in submis-
*631 sion. When his power is confirmed by the Sultan, he soon tries
*634 to find among these earliest companions a cadi who will be able
693 to render justice favorable to the interests of the new government.
[648] This scholar, who at the same time will be the /344/ kaid's secre-
[671] tary, will most often prove to be the resolute enemy of the Berbère /Berber/ customary law, whose roots go down into a dangerous past of democratic institutions. He will settle most of the disputes according to his master's instructions, and the infallible justice of the holy book will serve to legitimize in all circumstances the decisions of the temporal leader. Sometimes, too,
*631 according to the rank of the plaintiffs or the personal interest that
*634 the kaid takes in the settling of affairs, justice will be rendered,
[692] without any formality, by the makhzen /makhzan/ leader himself, seated on the threshold of his house. To free himself from all the petty affairs that give no profit, the kaid will choose a caliphate and a "mchaouri" /see "mechaouri," p. 440/, a kind of close advisor, information agent, and intermediary, charged besides with the command of his personal guard.

*631 The casbah, which has become a caravansary, fortress, store-
712 house, and castle at the same time, is administered by an "amin,"
*634 who is both major-domo and keeper of the provisions. The in-
[574] numerable guests who crowd together in the courtyard and stay sometimes for a long time while waiting for an audience with the

/389 cont./

177 and offenses and to regulating the political life of the canton. At
648 the same time the part of the "chraᶜ" /sharᶜ/ grows unceasingly;
671 it embraces the status of persons and soon extends to property litigation.

177 It is most often at this moment that the political penetration
648 of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is achieved. The "louh" of the tribes,
671 the venerable collection of their customs, entrusted up to now to
* 631 the care of the moqaddem or Aït Arbaᶜin, falls into the hands of
* 634 the amghar, of the sheik of the canton, /390/ or of the kaid of the tribe. Henceforth it is a man whose power has no limits other than his strength who is in charge of ordering and forbidding. Of what importance to him are the ancient rules established by assemblies, the very memory of which is an offense to his power?
[681] Besides, is it not better, in punishing the guilty, to set fines that take their resources into account? A well-to-do man will pay a large sum to get out of prison; a poor man will at the very least
[693] be able to sell his field. As for the surplus, the cadi, faithful to the new master, will under all circumstances know how to judge according to the interests of the Makhzen /makhzan/.

Thus the Berbère /Berber/ institutions succumb one after another. Two forces unite against them, that of the chiefs and that of the sherifian Makhzen. One originated in the mountains themselves: amghars, chiefs of a canton, of a leff, or of a tribe, semi-independent kaids whose casbahs rise near the summits, assert their will, always more powerful and more absolute, to enslave the small republics for their personal ends and to transform the formerly free men into docile and resigned subjects. The other power comes from heaven, since it is from God that the sovereign derives his throne and his principles of government, when the Mussulmans recognized him as supreme leader; but, in reality, this theocracy is only the association of material interests and devouring ambitions by which the activity of the functionaries of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is explained. Neither de facto nor de jure can the Berbère /Berber/ institutions find any place in this government. The first principle of this absolute monarchy is that of the most complete submission of the inferior to the superior.

/412 cont./

*631 648 17 578 669 this progress still remains precarious, since passions, restrained during the years in which the authority of the Sultan's representatives is exercised without being contested, break out anew at the first "siba," with a still greater violence. The peace in which the new subjects then live is bought by the destruction of most of the traditions and customs, habitudes of local government and of primitive justice, which for the inhabitants of the mountains are inseparable from their very life.

792 The marabouts, whose arbitration was exercised not only to stop the battles of cantons and tribes but also to settle in compliance with equity differences of a private nature, disappeared first; no longer do we see them intervene with sheiks and kaids to defend the poor and weak as they were privileged to do with the senates of "inflas" in the time of freedom. The old tribal law 671 ceases to be /413/ applied and often the day of submission marks 693 that of its effacement. It makes way for the more distant and abstract justice of the cadis, whose complaisance toward the new leaders is obvious.

*634 343 712 652 466 653 At the same time, most of the economic institutions of the small Berbère /Berber/ cantons, whose regular functioning required the deliberation of family representatives, are smitten with decline; the agadirs fall in ruins, the common treasuries are squandered, the corvées for mutual aid become irregular, maintenance of the séguias and roads, even the protection of the crops are no longer the object of the same care as in former times.

423 166 Finally, ownership of the land, so profoundly disturbed in certain regions near the casbahs of the great chiefs, becomes uncertain; the constitution of the large domains of the kaids of the Atlas entails, in a country already too poor to feed its inhabitants, the disappearance of a large number of villages and the progressive exodus of the Berbères /Berbers/ toward regions where the security of possessions and persons is more certain.

735 When the domination of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is established without intermediaries and allows all its weight to bear down on the tribes, thanks to the unlimited authority of foreign leaders, one sees profound poverty develop; one of the most constant principles